//

BRITISH AND AMERICAN INTERCOURSE.

LETTER

TO THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF DERBY,

ON

THE IMPERIAL

HALIFAX AND QUEBEC RAILWAY

AND

ANGLO-ASIAN STEAM TRANSIT PROJECT.

BY THE

HON. SIR RICHARD BROUN, BART, G.C. J.J.,

ORIGINATOR OF THE SCHEME.

"We venture to assert that if this ground of complaint—VIZ. THE NON-FORMATION OF THE GREAT TRUNK RAILWAY—was removed, and British capital legitimately employed in developing the resources of these Colonies, the annexation cry would be hushed into eternal slumber. Nay, more, it needs but this alone to make the North American Colonies the most prosperous, as they are now the most devoted and loyal of the hundreds of millions of subjects who have sworn allegiance to the British Crown."—*Halifax Guardian, March* 22, 1850.

LONDON:

TRELAWNY SAUNDERS, CHARING CROSS.

1852.

"A REFERENCE to the Correspondence will make it appear evident that no pledge has been given of assistance to *any line* of Railway except THAT originally proposed.

"There must be some distinct IMPERIAL INTEREST for the sake of which alone Parliament could be called upon to pledge the national revenue on behalf of such an object."—*Sir John Pakington to Lord Elgin, May* 20, 1852.

"A noble friend opposite and I pressed the subject with some degree of importunity on the late Government as a matter of IMPERIAL INTEREST; and I cannot help saying that the first arrangement to which Earl Grey adverted, that by which THIS LINE WAS TO BE ENTRUSTED TO A COMPANY, would be more satisfactory than leaving it in the hands of the Colonial Legislatures."—*Lord Derby, House of Lords, June* 7, 1852.

"I would not divide the estates of the Rich among the Poor: but I would open up to the Poor the virgin soil of the Empire, that they may no longer eat into the fortunes, whilst they envy the prosperity of the Rich. Give the poor Scotsman who has no land a piece of North America, purchased by the blood which stained the tartan on the plains of Abraham. Let the Englishman or Irishman, whose kindred dashed through the surf at Louisburg, or clubbed their muskets at Bloody Creek, have a bit of the land their fathers fought for. Let them at least have the option of OWNERSHIP and occupation, and A BRIDGE to carry them over. The results of such a policy would as assuredly be conservative of the rights of property, as it would permanently relieve the people. For your sakes as well as for their own, the people of British America are anxious to see you adopt an elevated and enlarged scheme of COLONIAL POLICY, by which relief will be given to your resources, and strength to their own. The hopes and prospects of the Future will then atone for the omissions and errors of the Past. We shall feel that England is indeed OUR HOME, and you will feel that YOU HAVE HOMES on both sides of the Atlantic."

Hon. Joseph Howe's Address at Southampton, January 14, 1851.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN INTERCOURSE.

"A momentous question involving, as we sincerely believe it does, the stability and permanency of British Interests on this Continent."

Address to Her Majesty from the New Brunswick Legislature, May, 1850.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY,

PRIME MINISTER AND FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY.

My Lord,

In the *Daily News* of yesterday's date, a notice appears from a Correspondent at Quebec, dated the 10th ult., saying, "Last "Saturday's *Gazette* contained an important proclamation. It "was enacted in the Railway Act of last session that if, from "any unforseen cause the Colonies should fail in obtaining from "the Imperial Cabinet the guarantee required to procure English "capital to build the Trunk Line, the Governor-General "should be at liberty to throw open the enterprise to private "capitalists in this Province, *and in the United States*, and to "advance Provincial bonds for one half the amount required for "any single line. It seems that our Cabinet have only just de-"cided that the negociation with Sir John Pakington is a failure, "and have come to the conclusion that if the Main Trunk "Line is to be built at all, it must be by our own unaided "efforts; so the Proclamation notifies to the world that the "various sections of the Road are at the disposal of capi-"talists."

When, my Lord, the supineness of the late Government with reference to this great undertaking encouraged those movements in the British North American Colonies which led to the Portland Convention in July 1850, and the inaugu-

ration of the half-Yankee half-Colonial idea that a Railroad should be constructed to connect Calais in the State of Maine with the Port of Halifax,—a New Brunswick journal thus remarked, "We may shut our eyes to the fact, but it is not less a "fact on that account, that the projected Railway which has "now taken hold of the public mind, is likely to supersede "that from Halifax to Quebec altogether; and thus instead of "binding the Colonies together by one common interest, and "linking that interest to the Parent State, it is highly probable "that this is the *first link* of the chain that will eventually bind "them to the United States."

Again, my Lord, a correspondent of mine in New Brunswick, who in Nov. 1845, was present at a general meeting of the inhabitants of the counties of Westmoreland in New Brunswick, and Cumberland in Nova Scotia, when it was unanimously resolved, "that the meeting regarded with marked approbation "the proceedings of the Promoters of the great national under-"taking of establishing a TRUNK RAILWAY from Halifax to "Quebec, and would cordially co-operate with the said Pro-"moters, and with the Legislatures of these Colonies, in carrying "this magnificent enterprise into operation," referring to this contemplated American aggression, thus wrote to me at the time:—"It is now too late to undertake anything with regard "to the Quebec and Halifax Railway. The Provinces are tired "of the uncertain humbug of the Colonial Office, and have just "entered into an arrangement with the Americans for the con-"struction of the 'Great European and North American Rail-"way,' from Calais in the State of Maine to Halifax, by way of "St. John and Shediac. Even Canada has come into this; and "she will communicate with the Atlantic by the Montreal and "Portland Line. Lord Grey's last dispatch finished the matter, "and an immense convention was held at Portland in Maine on "the 31st ult. at which 500 persons were present. The Americans "will find capital. THESE PROVINCES WILL NOT BE BRITISH "TEN YEARS LONGER; and no one who has witnessed the

" course pursued towards them by the present Government (the " Russell) can be in the least surprised at such a result. The " people would have preferred aid from England, but in despair " they have turned their attention elsewhere."

Having originated, my Lord, in the close of 1844, the PROJECT of opening direct Elemental Intercourse between Great Britain and Asia by way of the British North American Provinces, and conducted those proceedings in 1845 for the formation of an ANGLO-CANADIAN COMPANY to realize the undertaking, which since that date has occupied so much of the attention of the Government both here and in the Colonies; on Earl Grey becoming Colonial Minister, a communication was addressed to him, to which the following reply was received from Mr. Hawes, dated the 22nd of October, 1846,—" I am directed by Earl Grey " to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst., in " which you lay before his Lordship the proceedings and views " of the Gentlemen who are associated with you in the object " of establishing a Railway on the North American Continent " between Halifax and Quebec. Lord Grey directs me to in- " form you in answer, that he is fully sensible of the great im- " portance of the subject which you have brought under his con- " sideration, and that her Majesty's Government will be anxious " to give ALL THE SUPPORT IN THEIR POWER to the projected " Railway; but that until the Survey which is now in progress " shall have been made, and some estimate formed of the probable " cost of the undertaking, and also until the views of the different " Provincial Legislatures as to the best mode of carrying it into " effect shall have been ascertained, it will be premature to enter " into any consideration of the several proposals contained in " your letter."

About two months before the date of the document above quoted, Sir Robert Peel's Administration had, in consequence of resolutions having been passed by the Legislative Assemblies of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia approving of the Railway, ordered a survey of the line to be made. During Mr.

Gladstone's tenure of office deputations from the Promoters twice had interviews with him on the subject. And on the last of these occasions I placed in his hands a MEMORANDUM containing certain propositions, the adoption of which would make the undertaking so far a State measure as that Government would have a direct participation in the management, the patronage, and the returns of the Company.

The Final Report of the Officers employed to survey the line of the projected Trunk Railway between Halifax and Quebec, was printed by her Majesty's command in 1849. From it, the most authentic document that has ever appeared in print on the soil, capabilities and resources of British North America south of the St. Lawrence, I find that the present Governor-General of Canada (Lord Elgin) thus speaks of the undertaking in a despatch addressed to Earl Grey, dated 23rd Dec. 1848:—
"On the vast importance of the intended work, whether as "affecting Imperial or Provincial interests, I feel that it is altogether unnecessary to insist. The subject has long been "before the public, and its manifold recommendations have "been ably stated in various publications, official and unofficial, "as well as in the valuable Reports of the Surveying Engineers. "I cannot, however, refrain from observing, that while on the "one hand no undertaking seems to me so well calculated as "this to connect the Provinces together, to promote the interests which they have in common, to inspire them with a consciousness of their own strength, and thus to fit British North "America for the fulfilment of its high destinies; so, on the "other, none appears to be more likely to increase the population, extend the trade, and develop the local resources of "each: and if this remark be true as applied to Canada, still "more emphatically does it hold good of the lower Provinces."

After the publication, my Lord, of the Reports of the Surveying Engineers, the Promoters of the projected ANGLO-CANADIAN Company for constructing the Railroad in 1845, and then provisionally registered by us, renewed steps with

Earl Grey for such Government aid and co-operation in the case as we needed. But our correspondence elicited nothing beyond vague responses of a kind nothing calculated in practice to second our efforts. The Canadian Assembly, however, in July 1847, incorporated a Company to construct the Line within their Province, which Act received the Royal assent on the 15th of April, 1848; and in April, 1850, a similar Act passed the New Brunswick Assembly, giving power to the same Body to construct the Line within their Province.

Since that period, the Hon. Joseph Howe, Colonial Secretary for Nova Scotia, has been on a mission to this country, to procure the consent of Her Majesty's Government, 1st, that the Main Trunk Railway between Halifax and Quebec shall be constructed by the three Colonies as a Public or Provincial Work; and 2nd, that the credit of the British Treasury shall be so pledged, as to enable the Colonies to raise £7,000,000 of capital for Railway purposes, by guaranteeing to the Shareholders a minimum dividend of 3½ per cent. Whilst more recently a second mission, composed of the Hon. Messrs. Hincks and Chandler, have visited England to urge the proposition that Government shall guarantee the said £7,000,000, but for a line of Railway to connect Quebec and Halifax passing through the valley of St. John.

These Provincial movements conflicting with each other, and neither being in accordance with the principle that the COMPANY for the construction and management of this great INTERNATIONAL HIGHWAY between the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland on the one side, and the three provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada on the other, shall be an ANGLO-CANADIAN, or a British and Colonial Company; on the 1st of June last I addressed a memorial to your Lordship as chief adviser of the Crown, recalling to your recollection that in July 1845, a Memorial from myself and associates, addressed to the Prime Minister (the late Sir Robert Peel), was specially referred by him to your Lordship, who then filled the office of

Colonial Secretary; stating that your Lordship, on the 25th of the same month, had received a deputation, headed by myself on the subject, when you promised, "that if the project was favourably entertained by the Colonies, the Company set on foot by us for its accomplishment, should not fail to have the countenance and support of the Home Government;" and urging the request, for the reasons set forth in a Petition of mine to the House of Lords, which was presented in August last year by the Duke of Newcastle, that Government should now forthwith nominate a mixed Imperial and Colonial Commission, with power to create a joint stock ANGLO-CANADIAN COMPANY for the purposes of constructing the Railway, and settling the vacant territory over which it will pass—the Government vesting in the said Company the vacant Crown lands referred to in the Facility Acts, passed by the three Colonial Legislatures in favour of this my scheme, and otherwise guaranteeing annually to the shareholders a minimum dividend of 3½ per cent on the capital expended, should the returns of the Company fall short of that amount.

Shortly after the transmission to your Lordship of this Memorial, the comments by the Press, and discussions in Parliament, on Mr. Hincks's letter, of the 1st of May, to the Colonial Minister, led to several meetings between me, the chief originator of the Halifax and Quebec Railway Company in 1845, and the Gentlemen representing 'The Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia Railway Company,' incorporated by the Canadian Legislature in 1847, and by the New Brunswick Legislature in 1850; when after much deliberation it was arranged that the two Companies shall be amalgamated; that steps shall be taken next Session in the Imperial Parliament to have them incorporated as an ANGLO-CANADIAN COMPANY; that the administration of the Company's affairs shall be in a mixed Board of Directors or Commissioners, of whom not less than twelve members shall be resident in this country, and nine in the Colonies, (viz. three in each); and that a correspondence shall be opened with

Government to obtain for the Promoters permission to introduce into their Bill for the incorporation of the Company a clause authorising the British Treasury to guarantee to the shareholders the annual minimum dividend of 3½ per cent on a share capital of £4,000,000.

Having, on the 18th June, furnished Sir John Pakington with an elaborate Explanatory STATEMENT, shewing that £1,000,000 will suffice to construct the Main Trunk Railway between Halifax and Quebec; and also establishing by reliable data that the guarantee sought may be considered altogether a *nominal* one, inasmuch as the traffic returns upon a line which is to bring a population of thirty millions in this country, and about seven millions in America into direct commercial intercourse, will not fail from the commencement to cover the liability in the case; on the 27th of that month, the Colonial Minister received a Deputation, consisting of Lord Dudley C. Stuart, M.P., Messrs. T. Alers Hankey, B. Boothby, T. C. Banfield, C. H. Collette, and myself; when I placed in his hands certain PROPOSITIONS, and Mr. Hankey assured him that, should they be favourably entertained, the funds required for making the Railway would readily be subscribed.

Considering, my Lord, from the beginning in 1845 that this has been a Treasury question rather than a Colonial Office question, I put myself at this stage into communication with your Lordship for the purpose more especially of shewing cause why myself and associates should be regarded by the Government as THE AGENTS for organizing the COMPANY which shall have confided to it the necessary powers for realizing the project of constructing a Trunk Railway between Halifax and Quebec, and settling the vacant territory—14,000,000 acres—through which it will pass.

I have already stated that a Memorial from myself and colleagues, dated the 12th of July, 1845, to the then Prime Minister, was referred by him to your Lordship, who filled the office of Colonial Minister; and I have also cited the promise of co-

operation which a Deputation received from you in consequence. That document shewed, *inter alia*, 1st,—"That a Public "Company was then in course of being set on foot in London for "the purpose of con tructing a RAILWAY which should connect "the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, "by a direct line of Steam Communication, commencing at "Halifax, and proceeding thence to Quebec and Montreal, with "power progressively to extend the same westward to the "Pacific Ocean, form Branches, and purchase and improve "Lands upon the line." 2nd,—"That it was confidently "expected by the Promoters of this great NATIONAL UNDER-"TAKING, that it would receive the cordial support of all her "Majesty's subjects on either side of the Atlantic, who were in "any way interested in the Trade, Commerce, and Intercourse "subsisting between Great Britain and the British North "American Colonies." And 3rd,—after various other paragraphs embodying grounds for the conclusion that a Thirty Days' line of Steam Packet and Railway communication may be effected between Great Britain and China, across British North America, the Promoters asked certain exclusive facilities and advantages for the Company projected by them, "in considera-"tion of the vast commercial and political importance of such a "key to the trade of the world; that it would supersede the "necessity for the proposed Military Road along the boundary "line in New Brunswick; afford a vast opening for the safe "and profitable investment of British capital; and above all "things, furnish progressively immense facilities for the sys-"tematic plantation and settlement of the whole FRONTIER "TERRITORY of British North America from the Atlantic to "the Pacific Oceans."

It was, my Lord, upon such weighty and national considerations as these that the Promoters founded their request, that Government, here and in the Colonies, would give them such assistance and countenance as might be necessary to obtain for their COMPANY the confidence and co-operation of the British

Public, and all others locally interested. The Memorial was prepared by me; and the one transmitted to the Prime Minister was signed by order and on behalf of the Promoters and Provisional Board, by F. W. Hamilton, Esq., one of our number. The three corresponding Memorials to the Governor-General of Canada, and the Lieut.-Governors of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick bore my own signature. These were accompanied by a letter from our Secretary, Mr. W. Bridges, stating, "that "he was instructed by the Provisional Committee to enclose for "His Excellency's consideration a Memorial signed by their "Chairman, representing the views and objects of the Com-"pany, and respectfully inviting his attention to certain pro-"positions;" and further adding, "that he might be permitted "to mention that the undertaking had met with the approval "and sanction of several parties of influence here; and good hopes "were entertained, that a project so national in its objects, and so "important to the interests of the Provinces, would meet with "very general support both in England and in the Colonies."

These extracts contain, my Lord, a clear development of our project; and having already stated the promise made to myself, and the other members of the Deputation who waited upon you at the Colonial Office, on the 25th of July, 1845, in answer to our Memorial, I will now cite those received from the Colonial Executives.

The replies of the three Governors to our Memorials, were as follows:—

1st. From Lord Falkland:—"Halifax, Nova Scotia, "August 16th, 1845.—I have received your letter, dated the "18th July, accompanied by a Memorial from the Provisional "Committee of the projected Halifax, Quebec and Montreal "Railway Company, inviting my attention to the propositions "therein contained; and likewise asking, that I will support the "prayer of the Memorial, in my despatches to the Secretary of "the Colonies. In reply, I beg to assure you, that I conceive "the contemplated Railway would, if carried into effect, be pro-

" ductive of so much benefit to the Province of Nova Scotia, that
" I will most willingly do every thing in my power to forward
" the views of the projectors."

2nd FROM SIR W. M'B. COLEBROOKE. — " Fredericton,
" New Brunswick, August 29th, 1845. Sir William Colebrooke
" presents his compliments to the Gentlemen composing the
" Provisional Board of the Halifax, Quebec, and Montreal Rail-
" way Company; and in reply to their application for support
" from the Provincial Government, he has the satisfaction of
" being able to inform them that there is a very general disposi-
" tion to facilitate and promote the undertaking in this Province;
" and that he hopes by the next packet to forward to them
" some information of the proceedings of local associations tak-
" ing an interest in the subject. Sir William, in compliance
" with their request, has communicated with her Majesty's Go-
" vernment on the subject by the present mail."

3rd. FROM LORD METCALFE. — " Civil Secretary's Office,
" Montreal, Oct. 5th, 1845. I have the honour, by command
" of the Governor-General, to acknowledge the receipt of your
" letter of the 18th July last, transmitting a memorial to his
" Excellency from the Promoters and Provisional Board of the
" Halifax, Quebec, and Montreal Railway Company, praying
" for a free grant of all the unlocated land in the province over
" which the line will pass, &c. I am directed to acquaint the
" Memorialists that the Governor-General in Council has given
" to the memorial that degree of consideration which the vast
" importance of the subject merits, and that without offering
" any opinion on the feasibility of opening a Railway communi-
" cation from Montreal to the Pacific Ocean, his Excellency in
" Council considers that the proposed chain of steam communi-
" cation from England to Montreal is calculated in a high de-
" gree to promote the interests and advance the prosperity of
" Canada, and is an undertaking well worthy of the countenance
" of this Government, and of the people of this and the neigh-
" bouring British provinces. The Governor-General in Council,

" without being in possession of more information regarding the " proceedings of the Company, is unable to do more than to " assure the Memorialists that they may rely upon the Govern- " ment of this Province for whatever protection and aid it may " be consistent to render; and where the Railroad may pass " through the unconceded lands of the Crown, it will confer the " right to the Company of using what is necessary for the pur- " poses of the Railway." (Signed, J. M. Higginson, Colonial Secretary.)

To these encouraging promises of support and co-operation from the Home Government and Provincial Executives in 1845, I might, my Lord, cite resolutions in favour of the undertaking by numerous influential Meetings held in that year at Halifax, St. John's, Quebec, Montreal and other places, but it would extend this Letter to the length of a volume were I to do so. The unanimous feeling of the three Provinces may, however, be said to have been embodied in the following resolutions, which were passed at a General Meeting of the inhabitants of the Counties of Westmoreland in New Brunswick, and of Cumberland in Nova Scotia, held on the 1st of November, 1845, the Hon. William Crane presiding:—

" 1st. That this Meeting view the establishment of a line " of Railway connecting the provinces of Nova Scotia, New " Brunswick, and Canada, as contemplated by a Company " now in course of formation in London, as an object closely " connected with the best interests of the Colonies, being at " the same time eminently calculated to strengthen the ties " which bind us to the mother-country, and to afford the " means of establishing that perfect intercourse (indisputably " so imperfect now), which is so essential to their mutual " prosperity and happiness.

" 2nd. That this Meeting regard with marked approbation " the proceedings of the Promoters of this great national " undertaking: and will cordially co-operate with them, and

"with the Legislatures of these Colonies, in carrying this "magnificent enterprise into operation, by giving its assent "to free grants to the Company of those portions of the un-"granted lands over which the contemplated line may pass, "as also to an annual appropriation from the Provincial "revenues, proportional to the advantages that will be "derived from this great work, and to the state of the funds "of the Province, and by affording every other facility and "encouragement within its power.

"3rd. That this Meeting should sedulously refrain from "throwing any difficulties in the way of the successful ac-"complishment of this all-important project, by creating "difference of opinion, by fomenting local jealousies, and by "dividing the energies of the people of these Provinces, in "inconsiderately selecting any particular line for the Main "Railway, in preference to another, before the capitalists in "Great Britain, who must eventually decide this question, "have had the opportunity of doing so upon the report of "competent engineers, after an actual examination of the "face of the country; that this Meeting is prepared to give "equal support and encouragement to whatever line may be "thus officially adopted, notwithstanding its decided opinion "that a CENTRAL LINE, offering, as it does, the principal "tract of ungranted land in these Colonies, and presenting a "general summit level for the operations of the Company, "unquestionably possesses superior advantages to the pro-"posed line up the valley of the river St. John, which has "attached to it the insuperable difficulties consequent upon "a river navigation of the waters of the Bay of Fundy."

As yet, my Lord, no Parliamentary Blue Book records my eighteen years' labours in the cause of concentrating public attention upon the right settlement of that portion of our Transatlantic Empire which must ever be the ARX ET DOMICILIUM of British Sovereignty in the Western Hemisphere, notwith-

standing it has been said of my writings on the subject: "We "know not the author, but we can confidently say he has con- "ferred upon his own country in particular, and upon the king- "dom at large, a great benefit by calling attention to the im- "mense sources of national prosperity which lie within our "grasp." But observing in a Blue Book recently issued, entitled, "Further Correspondence relative to the projected Railway "between Halifax and Quebec," that it is stated the project *originated* in Nova Scotia; and the Hon. George R. Young in his "Articles on the Great Colonial Project of connecting Hali- "fax and Quebec by a Railroad, and ultimately the Atlantic and "the waters of Lake Huron," published February 1847, having observed, "to whom the merit is due of originating this project we have not the means authoritatively to decide;" I may here, my Lord, state authoritatively that, although Mr. Young is perfectly correct in saying, "the practical movement—the agitation "of the question leading to useful results both in England and "in these Colonies—was unquestionably produced by the pro- "jectors in London; they first gave direction and impetus to "the public mind, induced inquiry and combination, solicited "the aid of the Colonial Executives, and enlisted the talent and "energy of the Colonies in its support;" nevertheless, the conception of a line of direct ELEMENTAL INTERCOURSE between Europe and Asia by route of the British North American possessions, and the systematic colonisation of the vacant Crown territories over which it will pass, is exclusively my own. So far back as February 1833, I first mooted the idea in the *Journal of Elemental Locomotion*: and the progress of the Railway System during the interval suggested to my mind in the close of 1844, the idea of creating an ANGLO-CANADIAN COMPANY, which should outrival in the West the East India Company, for the joint purposes of commercially uniting the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by means of Steam-vessel and Railway communication, and settling the vacant Crown territories through which the Line will pass.

With this view, I prepared a Prospectus of the project early in January, 1845, and I have now before me a letter from Dr. Rolph, formerly Emigration Agent for Canada, dated the 22nd of January, 1845, in which he says—" I return to you, as you " desire, the very able Prospectus which you have drawn up, " and only wish there had been as much practicability in pur- " suing the undertaking, as you have evinced ability in designing " it. There are, however, I consider, insuperable difficulties in " the construction of such a Railroad as you speak of, from " climate, as well as from mountains. In the intermediate dis- " tance, between Lake Superior and Nootka Sound, there is an " extent of country subject to several months of severe winter. " Whilst between the Lake of the Woods and the Rocky Moun- " tains the surface is very irregular."

I beg your Lordship will fix your attention upon the date of Dr. Rolph's letter—for it was written two months before the paragraph appeared in the *Times* newspaper, (23rd March, 1845) headed "GIGANTIC PROJECT," announcing that Mr. Whitney, one of the most enterprizing New York merchants, had propounded in the United States a plan for "the construction of " a Railway from the western shore of Lake Erie to the navi- " gable part of the Columbia river and the Oregon territory, to " become the future medium of the Americo-European trade " with China." When I drew up the prospectus of my project, I had no knowledge of Mr. Whitney's scheme. I can honestly say that I have never seen the Durham Report, according to Mr. G. R. Young "so proud a monument in the history of the " British North American Provinces," and which he says contains "the first suggestion of the Railway known to us." The letters and correspondence between Mr. A. W. Godfrey and some Members of the Imperial and Colonial Governments, on the Halifax and Quebec Railroad, for which much praise is due, had not then been written. And as regards "the projectors " in London," or more properly speaking, the gentlemen in London registered with me, in July, 1845, as the Promo-

ters of the Railway Company, viz. Messrs. Hamilton, Bridges, Hoare, and Valentine, not one of the number had any connection with the undertaking at the date of Dr. Rolph's Letter, returning my Prospectus, above quoted.

And if, my Lord, no one can with justice come between "the wind and my nobility," as regards the paternity of the scheme, so no one can with truth allege that the idea ever was propounded by me, or by my colleagues, as "a great *Colonial* "project." The undertaking is to unite thirty millions of her Majesty's subjects at the European terminus with three millions of her Majesty's subjects in the British North American Provinces, and nearly six millions of other people inhabiting the country bordering on the shores of the Great Lakes. Further, it is to settle with native Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Irishmen, 14,000,000 acres of vacant Crown Lands. The construction of the TRUNK RAILWAY and its Branches contemplates an expenditure of four or five millions of British capital; and British labour and British superintendence is essential for its realization. The project then from the commencement has been and is an Imperial enterprize—a National concern—a State measure question. Furthermore, it has all along been my fixed opinion, and a prominent feature in all my writings in the cause, that this mighty route of international commerce between Britain in the Eastern and Western hemispheres, is a thing to be made for the Colonies, and with the Colonies—but not *by* the Colonies.

From these premises then, your Lordship will naturally infer that I consider the proposals urged by the Hon. Joseph Howe on the one hand, and those by the Hon. Messrs. Hincks and Chandler on the other, are neither of them entitled to the countenance and support of the British Government. And why? Because either, if conceded, would alter the fundamental character and principle of this vast national undertaking. Besides, these missions have both been in the face of Acts passed by the Canada Assembly and the New Brunswick Assembly actually incorporating a PUBLIC COMPANY to con

struct the TRUNK LINE from Quebec to Halifax, so far as it passes through these respective Colonies. It is true that the Acts in question incorporate merely a Provincial Company—one which has come unasked upon the domain of the Trunk Railway projected by me—and which *per se* has neither the influence, the capacity, nor the means to realize the undertaking. But nevertheless, for the sake of unity, and the *locus standi* such as it is which the said Acts afford, the interests of the subscribers for stock in the Colonies, and those of the parties represented by myself and associates, have been amalgamated; and we now approach the Government to ask a fulfilment of that promise of co-operation which your Lordship, in your capacity of Colonial Minister, gave to me in 1845; of those promises of co-operation to which the Executive authorities in the Colonies pledged themselves in the autumn of that year; and of the promises of co-operation which the inhabitants of British North America then gave as one man, and which no one will now violate who remains loyal to our Sovereign, her crown, and sway.

My Lord, I might extend this letter until it assumed the length of a volume, in shewing cause why the propositions which I placed in Sir John Pakington's hands, on the 27th of June last, should forthwith be acceded. But why should I infringe upon your Lordship's time in a matter which requires so very little consideration? If we asked a Government guarantee for 3½ per cent on a share capital of four millions sterling, your Lordship, as First Lord of the Treasury, might still, after seven years loss of time and expectation, pause before giving us a reply. But we do not ask this. We only ask that the Government will consent to our bringing in a Bill next Session, to incorporate our amalgamated ANGLO-CANADIAN Company, which shall contain a clause guaranteeing the 3½ per cent on the capital to be expended. The responsibility of dealing with such a clause will thus lie with Parliament, not with Ministers. And the Public will then know not only whether the charges made by

Mr. Hincks, in his celebrated Letter of the 1st of May last, be correct; but also, whether, as the *Times* when commenting on the said Letter infers, it would not be "a most serious blunder, "and one which may have lasting results on our relations with the "North American Colonies, were Parliament to refuse to sanction "what must prove a useful and legitimate investment of British "capital—although, now that the bonds of Commercial Mono-"poly are broken, *that is* what we have mainly to look to for "the maintenance of our Colonial ascendancy."

In addition, my Lord, to the promise of support given in 1845. I have also to remind your Lordship that, when in opposition two years back, you said:—"The line of Railway, when con-"structed, will, in a pecuniary point of view, pay its cost. But "though it did not pay a penny for every £100, for the next ten "years, still the interposition of this country, aiding the project "by its credit, if by no other means, is worthy of the considera-"tion of Parliament." Upon that statesman-like position, and upon the express consideration that you deemed, "it ought not "to be regarded in a pound, shilling and pence point of view," you advised and urged Earl Grey to "*step forward*, believing if he did so, that the proposed guarantee would be met liberally." Again, in the recent discussion, elicited by Mr. Hincks' Letter, your Lordship remarked: "I repeat that how-"ever much I might prefer the former scheme (*i. e.* the scheme of "myself and colleagues) of entrusting the completion of the Rail-"way to a private COMPANY, assisted by the pecuniary aid of "the Colonists themselves; and by the appliance of waste lands, "on each side of the Line, for the purposes of colonisation; yet "I would not have hesitated to sanction and to propose to "Parliament the guarantee of the large sum asked by Mr. "Hincks, (£7,000,000), provided that the Railroad had effected "those *great advantages* which Ministers wish to be derived "from its completion."

The great advantages here referred to are precisely those which the MAIN TRUNK LINE contemplated by the Anglo-Canadian Company [illegible] to effect. [illegible]

1st, to the Address to the Queen on the subject of the Railway from the New Brunswick House of Assembly in May, 1850, containing those remarks: "Believing your Majesty's Govern-" ment sincere in the declaration that the Colonies will be re-" tained at all hazards, and that they are viewed as part of the " strength of the Empire, it is surely a question worthy of the " best consideration of your Majesty's Government, What can " be done for the North American Colonies to prevent their de-" clension, to give them strength and consistency, and thereby " to restore confidence in the Imperial Government? To this " important question we are prepared to answer that NO OTHER " MEASURE will so certainly produce the desired effect as the " Railway from Halifax to Quebec;" 2nd, to the ominous Proclamation following the justly repelled mission of Messrs. Hincks and Chandler, which is referred to in the opening paragraph of this letter; 3rd, to the advices which the last Mail-steamer has brought from New York, viz. "That the *Monroe doctrine*, as it " is called (*i. e.*, DEMOCRATIC SOLIDALITY throughout the " American continent), is never spoken of in public meetings " without raising a tumult of applause;" that "the Order of " the Lone Star formed last year in the south, now numbers " upwards of 25 000 resolute and efficient native Americans;" that "its object is the extension of the institutions, the power, " the influence, and the commerce of the United States over the " Western Hemisphere, and the islands of the Atlantic and Pa-" cific Oceans;" that "the time has gone by when American " statesmen, politicians, or citizens will allow any barrier to be " interposed by a European power between them and their " grasping cupidity;" and that "the era of Republican propa-" gandism has come for our democratic country:" and 4th, to the fact that in Canada, in New Brunswick, and in the United States there exist HUNTER LODGES enrolling upwards of 100,000 fighting men banded together by oath "to attack, com-" bat, and destroy by all means that their superiors may think " proper, every power or authority of Royal origin on the Ame-

"rican continent." Taking these things into consideration, I ask your Lordship whether the time has not arrived when, to quote the language of the Hon. G. R. Young, "the project shall "be held to stand no longer a topic for debate, or of narrow or "sordid calculation, seeing it involves the controlling question "of national allegiance, and is to settle the mighty issue whether "the institutions and forms of local government in Nova Scotia, "New Brunswick, and Canada are to continue MONARCHICAL, "or are to descend and become republican. Can then the out-"lay affect either the sober judgment of her Majesty's Ministers "on the one hand, or of our legislators and people on the other? "It is to secure to the former sovereignty in the West; fighting-"ground to curb and control an ambitious and haughty rival; "a growing nation of children as customers; a home for surplus "population; a new sanctuary for the free institutions of the "old world; a fresh field for practical arts; another, and a "living reflex of the laws, literature, science, and discoveries "with which our ancestors have illustrated the past brilliant "history, and adorned the present condition of Europe; and "on the other, the protection and security of the British flag, "sympathy with British interests, the glorious inheritance of "British freedom—the life and impetus of her inimitable consti-"tution; a preference in the British markets; and a friendly "brotherhood and relationship in all she is yet to achieve."

My Lord, at the great Yankee and Colonial Railway Convention held at Calais, in the State of Maine, (in which State some few years back there existed alone not less than ninety-nine HUNTER LODGES,) a letter was read from President Fillmore, dated the 27th July, 1850, of which a leading Nova Scotia journal remarked,—"*We dare say it is worth* ONE MILLION STERLING "*towards the proposed European and North American Rail-*"*way.*" I ask, my Lord, of how much value have the repeated promises of support and countenance given by successive Colonial Ministers proved to the vast undertaking which it has cost me seven of the best years of a busy life to advance to its

present stage? Had the late Sir Robert Peel possessed the will, as he had the power, in July 1845, to give to myself and colleagues the co-operation we sought, the Railway between Halifax and Quebec would to-day—like others for which we have found during the interval 150 millions of capital—have been open. The central city on the banks of the Miramichi, which, in honour of the Founder of the noble Province of New Scotland, I propose should be named "JAMESTOWN ROYAL," would ere now have been the seat of a happy and rising population. Seven eventful years, during which there has been an Emigration flight of one and a half million of her Majesty's subjects into the bosom of a revolted Republic, would not have been expended in profitless communications with the Colonial Office. Three Colonies, forming the right arm of the Empire, would not have had ample grounds for considering their wishes in the case trifled with, and their interests neglected. Rival schemes, whether hatched by piraters of ideas here, or by fomenters of dissatisfaction in the Colonies, would not have been furnished with opportunities of developing themselves. The bountiful table—14,000,000 acres of virgin soil—spread by Providence for our surplus population within eight days' reach of our shores, would not have been left neglected. Annexation movements in each of the Provinces would not have been rife. Nor (with twenty-two millions of gold in the Bank of England seeking profitable vent) would the choice of so foul an alternative be now presented to us as that this grand INTERNATIONAL HIGHWAY between her Majesty's capitals in Eastern and Western Britain shall be constructed either by Imperial gold—*or by Republican dollars!*

His late Excellency, Sir John Harvey, on opening the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia in 1847, thus spoke of the project set on foot by me:—"The period at, and the circumstances "under, which we meet, afford me the opportunity of recom-"mending to your continued attention an undertaking second "in its importance to none which has ever engaged the notice "of any Colonial Legislature in any portion of the British do-

"minions. I allude to the proposed Railway between Halifax "and Quebec, which will constitute the most important link in "that great chain of communication, which may be destined at "no remote period to connect the Atlantic with the Pacific "Ocean, and to conduct to a British seaport, from those into "which it is now forced, that vast stream of trade, not of our "western possessions alone, but of the rich and extensive wheat "and grain-growing districts of all central America." This high encomium but echoes the language of a noble heart now mouldering in the tomb, who, in Dec. 1844, thus wrote to me —"Yours is a grand—a glorious project. Its influence extends "over a vast space both in the old world and in the new. It "must affect the destinies of hundreds of thousands of human "beings, not only now, but for ages yet to come. It is a giant "labour, bringing care, anxiety and toil; but an ardent mind "like yours will be cheered on its onward course by the high "feeling which the consciousness of a great duty performed, and "the bright gleam of hope that ultimate success will crown your "indomitable efforts cannot fail to bring." Through good report and bad—amidst delayed expectations, and promises of aid yet to be fulfilled, I have borne forward the banner of that CRUSADE OF PEACE which I hope within the next seven years to see erected on those nascent cities and towns which will mark every footstep of that mighty route of commerce by which Britain, ever walking westward through dominions peopled with her blood, will reach the farthest East. And I now claim at your Lordship's hands, as of one who directs the councils of an upright and monarchical nation, that You will give to myself and those co-operating with me that aid to carry out between the Atlantic and the Pacific the VAST WORK which occupies us, which shall not only remove from Britain the stain that she is sowing the Earth with "*rotten seed*," but also enable us to command a blessing for Posterity through all future times.

"If we live in an age of political apathy and religious dis-"cord," says a leading organ of popular opinion, "it must be

"admitted that at no time since the commencement of the "world has private enterprise derived so much assistance from "the principles of union and association." Whilst a fact so creditable to the energy and intelligence of England, ushers in an article demanding the greatest attention of Parliament, a series of comments on the trickery and abuses that exist alike in the making and in the management of Public Companies, leads to the observation that "it is time that something should "be done to arrest this tide of corruption, and to prove that if "we be a nation of shopkeepers, we are not also a people of "swindlers." In a great commercial nation, *ideas* are personal properties as much as are ships, or types, or looms, or ploughs If this be true—and who will impugn it?—I have a right to say for myself and those co-operating with me, that I did not in January 1845, launch my conception upon the sea of public opinion, commence steps to create a joint stock COMPANY to realize the same, open negociations with Ministers at Home and in the Colonies for co-operation in the matter, and put into motion that machinery by which "a project treated at its first "promulgation as wild and impracticable, has acquired a prac-"tical shape, and will end, in all likelihood, and before long, "IN A MAGNIFICENT REALITY," that after the heat and throng of a contest approaching almost in its duration the length of the Trojan war, Mr Hincks, Mr. Chandler, or any one else, should step between me and my copyhold position in the concern. Unless, my Lord, the promise made to me in July 1845, by your Lordship as Colonial Minister, is to be held no more binding than a diver's oath, *that promise* is now to be made good to myself and colleagues. We have not monopolized, nor do we propose to monopolize, the field of enterprise on the British North American continent; but having devised a plan which will bind the infant communities there to the British Throne by more enduring bonds than even that of an iron-railway-chain, we do not mean that such plan shall be taken out of our hands either by delegations from self-seeking

parties in the Colonies, or by "sympathising" competitors in the United States. Canada will remember that the spokesman, in behalf of the Grand Fall's line recently in England, in his other capacity of Inspector-General, obtained from the House of Assembly even so late as 1850, an Act to authorise the sale of the public roads constructed by the Government of the province, because they had become an "intolerable burden," having cost nearly cent per cent more than similar roads made by Companies; and she will still, I doubt not, honourably respond to the answer given in Council to my Memorial by that venerated servant of the Crown, the late Lord Metcalfe, viz.—"You may "*rely* upon the Canadian Government for whatever PROTECTION "and AID it may be consistent to render in the case."

And, my Lord, even at the hazard of being deemed importunate over much, let me again repeat that the work for which I ask Government aid and interposition, ought to be regarded as primarily, as essentially, as exclusively a BRITISH WORK, and not a Colony one. The soil over which the Line will pass from Halifax to the Oregon coast, is British soil. The population that is to spread our language, our religion, our institutions, our humanity over busy centres of civilization which will ere long become part and parcel of this MOTHER OF NATIONS, whose evident mission it is to colonize the vacant portions of the globe, are now educating in our industrial schools, begging in our streets, languishing in our gaols, and overcrowding our poor houses. The gold that is to be an agent for the deliverance of thousands upon thousands from a thraldom to want worse than that of Egyptian bondage, is in the vaults, and tills and coffers of that "Mart of Nations," where Mammonism, sitting enshrined upon money-bags filled with the abstracted sweat and sinews of society, looks complacently down upon Humanity desolations sadder than those of the mortar and stone which Marius, with unavailing compunction, looked upon of old! My Lord *be not deceived*. The golden apples of the Manchester-school Hysperides, will yet prove

ashes in the national mouth. Potato crop murrain, an Irish exodus, and gold digging spoils, may disguise the fact, but nevertheless our HOME CONDITION system is rotten at the core, and unless all our official statistics lie, there has been and there is under three years of Commercial Irrestriction a large addition of pauperism, a vast multiplicrtion of crime, a remarkable diminution of Saving Bank deposits, an alarmingly abridged cultivation of grain, and an overwhelming increase of emigration, over and beyond what these unmistakable guages of the popular well-being indicated under the last three years of expiring Protected Trade.

Recurring then, my Lord, to the splendid eulogism pronounced upon the project set on foot by me in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, by the late lamented Lieut.-Governor Sir John Harvey; I now venture earnestly to press my hope that on the assembling of the new Imperial Parliament your Lordship will feel it to be your bounden duty, "taking the time at, and the circumstances under which" you will meet into account, to recommend to the consideration and support of both Lords and Commons a Bill to incorporate the COMPANY which has been devised by myself and colleagues to realize the undertaking of constructing a Trunk Railway from Halifax to Quebec, with power to extend the same progressively westward, and systematically plant the vacant territory on the Line, upon the ground that the PROJECT is one "second in its importance" to *none* that has ever claimed the attention of any Legislature on the face of the globe. And why so? Because, as an International Highway it will bring Ireland, late in social life, within the phase of the commercial orbit. Because as a Frontier means of defence against Republican tendencies and aggression in the Western Hemisphere, the right construction of this RAILROAD will prove a more enduring and impregnable rampart than was that in times of old of the great Chinese Wall. Because, as a Commercial-nexus, it will bind up indissolubly, in one mighty integral MONARCHICAL

STATE the scattered component parts of maritime Britain on both sides of the Atlantic. Because, as a Colonisation-lever, it may be so wielded, on the broadest platform of the New world, as to raise up to comfort and independence the million masses of destitute Poor, whose condition alike weighs down and dishonours the Old. Because, as a Pauper-farming expedient, it may be so prosecuted as not only to write '*Delenda est inopia*' upon the door-posts of every Workhouse in the land, but to evade circumstances militant against order, against industry, against morality, such as silently but certainly are effecting *that* within the bounds of the British islands, which Europe, armed and at our gates, would fail to accomplish. And finally, because, by giving free scope to the expansive energies of a Race yet destined by Providence so to obey the divine commandment "Be fruitful and multiply—replenish the earth and subdue it," as to make obedience to the injunction a blessing instead of a curse, it will prove the handmaiden to, and the harbinger of, that coming reign of Goodwill and Peace, which is to exalt the closing generations of Man in this transition stage between Time and Eternity, which it is less our doom than our destiny to overpass.

In conclusion then, my Lord, with this review before you of the rise, progress, and present state of a PROJECT which far exceeds in magnitude and grandeur that undertaking which, before the age of Steam-power, was characterized by an American diplomatist as "not only the mightiest event in favour of the peace-"ful intercourse of nations which the physical circumstances "of the globe present to the enterprise of man;"—but as one "concerning which should Europe be indifferent, it would be "glory surpassing the conquest of kingdoms to make entirely "their own;" with promises of countenance and support from three successive Colonial Ministers, echoed by similar promises from each and all Her Majesty's representatives in the British North American Provinces since 1845; with three Facility Acts passed by the Legislative Assemblies of Canada, New Bruns-

wick, and Nova Scotia, specially in favour of this my scheme; with Acts by the two former Provinces, incorporating a Company now fused into the one originated by myself and associates seven years back,—which ONE alone, as an Imperial, or British and Colonial, association of mind and means, is THE COMPANY which has legitimate grounds for asking and receiving the Treasury guarantee sought, and the Government co-operation required; with the Bank of England bursting with a larger accumulation of gold than her vaults has ever contained, since a countryman of mine, born within sight of my native home, first laid her foundations; with Emigration statistics before us proving that last year, out of 335 966 persons who left the United Kingdom, 267,357 went to the United States; with above all, a settled expectation in the Public mind, that at length questions connected with FLESH AND BLOOD AMELIORATION shall no longer be postponed for mere questions of social and economic reforms:—I feel satisfied that your Lordship will neither belie the hopes universally entertained that you will put a crowning hand to our labours in this cause, nor yet incur the fearful responsibility which a rejection of our overtures would inevitably entail. I have written in vain, my Lord, if this matter shall appear to you, or any servant of Her Majesty, simply one of RAILWAY MAKING. It has years ago been observed that "a "great Statesman *long ere this* would have planned, encouraged, "adorned, and ennobled Emigration." Our Flag for 1000 years has ruled the wave, yet COLONIZATION is but a word, an expression, to be found within the leaves of our dictionaries. As a 'great fact,' as a living reality, it has no existence in any portion of that world-wide Britain upon which an EYE more searching than that of Day never closes. "Amid the spoils of every clime," says a native writer, "Britain nowhere sees the likeness of her-"self. A true child of the majestic mother is nowhere to be "found. We have stocked plantations with slaves; we have "occupied rocks with soldiers; and peopled solitudes with crime. "We have increased the nominal rent-roll of the EMPIRE by

" almost every compliance, and at any expence. Yet the English-
" man who once embarks from these shores will never again see
" happy England until he returns." On the same theme observes
a foreign commentator, " You have made a choice diametrically
" opposite to that of Solomon. He chose mind,—wisdom. You
" have chosen the world. But do you hold it? THE BRITISH
" EMPIRE IS INDEED A GRAND WORLD! But what is an
" Empire? *A harmony of Nations.* You have, I know well,
" your triplicity of powers—Agricultural, Industrial, and Naval.
" These are certainly very powerful means. And yet how does
" it happen that having them, you have succeeded so little in
" taking root? I see you *everywhere* on the surface of the
" globe, but firmly rooted NOWHERE. The reason is, that you
" have been everywhere gathering and sucking the substance of
" the earth, but implanting nothing, no sympathy—no thought!
" Having brought no moral ideas with you, you have founded
" nowhere! But of all the English countries, the one that has
" suffered the most by such a policy is assuredly ENGLAND
" herself. Here the Bankers will laugh, and so will the Lords
" perhaps, and with them a few hundred thousand men—the
" Vampires of England. Yes! but thirty millions of men are
" weeping, and these men are England herself." The time, my
Lord, has now unquestionably come, and let us trust, in yourself,
" the Man," when the sin and shame of Emigration neglect
and Colonization neglect, must be " put down;" and when the
intellectuality, the loyalty, and the Christianity of the nation
must be aroused in especial to the work of " Bridging the
" Atlantic," and accomplishing for posterity an UNION grander
and more glorious far than that of which the Tweed forms the
heart-stream. With an Exodus from our shores now exceeding
a quarter million of souls yearly, let us at length recognize
it to be a supreme mission of the British Race to create
genuine reflexes of our communities—not Frankenstein sem-
blances of them. Let us henceforth eschew that suicidal sys-
tem of inattention to farming our Pauperism, and cultivating

our outlying wastes, which must eventually terminate in these issues—COLONY LOSS—IMPERIAL DESTRUCTION. Above all, my Lord, let us take care how we further proceed "to lay the "foundations of new States in the squalor of unredeemed "misery." How we go on to tolerate their "growing up amid the "brutality of untutored barbarism." How we "sanction and allow "their being consecrated by the execrations of the most reckless "blasphemy." If so we continue to act, the certain result will be, that "instead of a HUMAN POLITY, scattered over our vast "Maritime Monarchy, we shall have a *Pandemonium!*" Let us then in the language of one of the mightiest disseminators of thought that has ever stimulated man to attend to man's vocations as to time, let us, I say—"Avoid this monstrous crime—this "unequalled sin. Let us do all we can—let the Government "do all it can—to eradicate, soften, and improve the hearts and "intellects of the Lower Classes at Home. But do not let us "incur the guilt, the shame, the penalty of launching them "uneducated, unripened, unprepared, and uncontrolled into a "new world of innocence and promise. Let us beware of "converting that which might become a GREAT EMPIRE into "a hideous democracy."

I have the honour to remain,

My Lord,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

R. BROUN, BART.

Sphinx Lodge, Chelsea,
September 2, 1852

"All the gaudy efflorescence of an affluent and high Aristocracy is but tinsel and vanity when compared in respect of importance with the substantial wellbeing of those thousands and millions who overspread the ground floor of our social and political edifice. To elevate this lowest platform of Humanity—the platform of Humble Life—is the best object on this side of Death to which Patriot or Philanthropist can consecrate their labours."

CHALMERS.

"There is not a Father by whose side in his daily or nightly walks these creatures (the forlorn desolate young) pass; there is not a Mother among all the ranks of loving mothers in this land; there is no One risen from the state of childhood, but shall be responsible in his or her degree for this enormity. There is not a country throughout the EARTH on which it would not bring a curse. There is no Religion upon earth that it would not deny; there is no people upon earth it would not put to shame."

DICKENS.